2: Krige and Krige E-5 (1928-1939)1943
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guardian rather than the servant of a master. He is, like a member of the family, fed and clothed, but never remunerated; his position is not a derogatory one. He owns his own property, but his taxes may be paid for him, and he receives cattle as *munywalo* (bride-price). His services are essentially voluntary; he participates in all social activities and has no political disabilities.

Rather like the *mulada* was the *muruiwa* (*hu rua*, to rear cattle or other animals). He was a poor man taken in by the family as a hanger-on, was given land, and was helped just as if he were a member of the family. If he was an orphan bachelor, related to the family, he usually married one of its daughters; but he was not bound to the family and could leave whenever he wished. This institution is practically extinct to-day, as is also *hu ʈuda* (or *hu sigela*), to work for food. In the old days, a man or woman, short of maize towards the end of the year, would hire out his services; but the work was considered irksome and the worker 'a fool who feeds himself by his labours'. The work is difficult for, 'tired though he be, he must work until the owner of the field is also tired'. *Hu sigela* is spoken of especially when a bachelor, with no sister from whose marriage he could expect the cattle for his marriage, sold his services for hoes and cattle; usually his mother assisted him; and often he carried iron ore from the north to the local smiths, so that it used to be said 'the great road helps bachelors (who have no sisters) to marry the sisters of young men'.

Hu hira (from the Afrikaans *huur*, hire), the hiring out of one's services or implements, is practically confined to Christians; it is a new conception. But pagans who have money or dislike the unreliability of a *khilcbe* arrangement sometimes engage the services or hire the implements or cattle of others. The standard payment is 10s. per acre ploughed. The advantages are that one can insist upon a certain degree of thoroughness in the work and dictate the time of ploughing. In the old days implements were borrowed (*hu adima*); but even *hu adima*, if it is of things falling definitely within the European pattern, nowadays involves the passing of some consideration, especially among Christians. The typical instance is the loan of a boar, which must be returned with one of the litter. But the loan of animals or implements of the traditional economy, such as cattle, goats, or pots, is always gratuitous; even when a herdboy is lent, one must expect only 'thanks', which is generally sent with some beer. Only the utmost care of the thing, not payment, is expected of the borrower, for 'when I, who am a borrower, turn round (to face the lender), I fear to be caught in the thorn tree'. There is an ill-defined custom whereby, when a relative, usually the mother's mother or the mother's brother, cares for (*hu lcla*) a child for many years, he is given a head of cattle, called the *maledi*. This is hardly a reward for services; it is a gesture of goodwill, is entirely voluntary, and is rarely paid.

When cattle are placed in the care of another (*hu fisa*) no consideration passes; the person to whom the cattle are entrusted, the *mufiswa*, uses the cattle and their milk; but his use is precarious, for 'he scans the road even as he milks' since the owner may at any moment come to take back his cattle. Occasionally when goats are cared for, the herdboy is given a

3: Krige E-5 (1928-1938)1938 FX14 Lovedu FX14

Highveld. When, after many private consultations with diviners, a man decides to make an accusation of witchcraft, he and the accused will *betcha* or lay a wager of money or cattle on the matter, after which, accompanied by a witness, the 'ears of the chief', supplied by the Head Kraal, they set out to consult a far-away smeller-out, nearly always a Shangana–Tonga who lives too far to know anything of the people concerned. Unless the smeller-out is able to give the totems of all members of the party and successfully find an object that has been hidden beforehand, they will pass on to another until some one suitable is found. The verdict of the smeller-out is taken to court where it is always accepted and the guilty party told to pay his wager, the modern counterpart of the death penalty of old. A distinction between murder and accidental homicide is everywhere found in the Lowveld, punishment for the latter being the handing over of a girl to the injured family. She never returns home, nor does any bride-price pass.

Bantu etiquette, which makes it impossible for a case to be reported to the chief except through a third party, generally among other Sotho tribes one or two specially appointed men, has in the Lowveld given rise to a rather more complicated system whereby each district has its 'mother' at the Head Kraal, through whom reports are made and actions brought. Where a person in one district has a case at the Head Kraal against some one in another district, the 'mother' of the complainant's district will approach the 'mother' of defendant's district to call his 'children' to the court, and various payments are connected with the system. Most of the important men living at or near the Head Kraal are such 'mothers', many having more than one district in their charge.

FAMILY AND CLAN. There is among Lowveld Sotho no term distinguishing the father's from the mother's side of the family, the word *moloko* being used to denote all relatives whether on the father's side or the mother's; and in practice, whether at weddings or at working parties, both sets of relatives play an equally important, if sometimes different, part. A man inherits his totem and family name from his father, but in his education and social life his mother's people have great influence. Most children spend some years of their life with the

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mother's mother, especially in cases where the next baby has arrived before three or four years have elapsed; and a young motherless child is often sent by his father to his mother's brother's people (where his mother's mother will be) in preference to being handed over to a fellow wife of the mother, for it is generally considered that the mother's people are best able to rear (*hodisa*) a child.

A very special relationship exists between a man and his sister, especially his eldest sister, who is or will become the priestess of the family. She is the person who has greatest influence over him, who will be called to reason with him when even his parents are unable to persuade him. The sister whose cattle he used to obtain a wife also has a special interest in his household affairs. This house is the place where she will 'put her things' and make herself at home when visiting her old home; his daughter will one day marry her son; his wife may run to her or her elder sister if he ill-treats her, whereupon she will remonstrate with her brother or even in extreme cases arrange for permanent protection of such a woman away from her husband. The sister's rights are supported by a powerful sanction, for if she 'feels dissatisfied in her heart' owing to bad treatment at the hands of her brother, the ancestors are liable to make his children ill. When this happens, the brother will have to approach his sister humbly to come and end matters, after openly airing her grievances, by interceding with the ancestors on behalf of his children. Not all sisters are, however, in practice able to control and influence their brothers: here, as in all human relationships, much depends on the character and good sense of the parties concerned; and I have seen a 'bad lot' just back from town slap the face of a sister who had been called to remonstrate with him about a loose woman he had brought to his wife's house from town.

The clan, if it can be said to exist at all, does so only in a vague way, and there are no functions or usages associated with it. Relatives belong to no clearly marked group but can be traced in ever-widening circles from the individual family just as we trace relationships in our own society. There is no term for clan: *moloko* refers to relatives on both father's and mother's side, while *khoro*, a word most commonly used to denote that portion of any village where the men sit, but also meaning court, clan, or tribe, is too vague in its connota-